

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04089 01 OF 02 311358Z

44

ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00

PM-03 DODE-00 ACDA-10 CU-02 SAM-01 SP-02 L-01 /052 W

----- 003627

R 311245Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3406

INFO USMISSION NATO

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4089

LIMDIS

DEPARTMENT PASS SEC DEF

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR PARM XG

SUBJ: CSCE: CBM'S; REMAINING ISSUES IN MANEUVERS MEASURE

REF: A. GENEVA 3986; B. SECTO 2041; C. GENEVA 3837; D. STATE

150575 (12JUL74); E. GENEVA 4121 (28JUNE74); F. GENEVA

1684 (14MARCH74); G. STATE 81134 (20APRIL74)

1. SUMMARY: SOVIETS ANNOUNCED NEW POSITION WITH IMPORTANT CONCESSIONS ON CBM PARAMETERS ON MAY 30, AND HAVE BEGUN STRONG DRIVE TO WRAP UP MANEUVERS MEASURE IN NEAR FUTURE. ASSUMING SOVIETS CAN DEMONSTRATE FURTHER FLEXIBILITY ON NUMERICAL PARAMETERS, ALLIES WILL SOON NEED TO DECIDE WHETHER THEY CAN ACCEPT COMPROMISE SOLUTION OF 300KMS., 25,000 TROOPS, AND 21 DAYS, WHICH IS BEING PROMOTED INFORMALLY BY NEUTRALS. ANOTHER IMPORTANT ISSUE IS WHETHER SOVIETS WILL AGREE TO MEASURE ZONE OF NOTIFICATION FROM BLACK AND BALTIC SEACOASTS, OR ONLY LAND FRONTIERS. SWEDES HAVE PROPOSED FORMULA TO COVER THIS LOOPHOLE, WHICH SOVIETS ARE CONSIDERING, BUT SWEDISH TEXT DOES NOT COVER SPECIAL INTERESTS OF TURKEY, AND APPLICATION OF MEASURE IN ANATOLIA IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO CAUSE TROUBLE IN FORTHCOMING DRAFTING STAGE. OTHER LESS CENTRAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 04089 01 OF 02 311358Z

BUT STILL UNRESOLVED ISSUES WHICH WILL COME UP IN DRAFTING ARE

PROPOSED REFERENCES TO SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS BELOW THRESHOLD, INDEPENDENT NAVAL AND AIR MANEUVERS, AND AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE FORCES. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON THESE OUTSTANDING POINTS, AS REQUESTED IN PARAS 3, 6, 7, AND 9 BELOW. END SUMMARY.

2. AS EXPECTED FROM PRIOR CONSULTATIONS, SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVITCH INTRODUCED NEW FIGURES FOR NUMERICAL PARAMETERS IN FORMAL MAY 30 MEETING OF CBM SUBCOMMITTEE. MENDELEVITCH CONFIRMED THAT SOVIETS ARE NOW PREPARED TO ANNOUNCE MANEUVERS IN 150 KM. - ZONE OF THEIR OWN EUROPEAN TERRITORY, MEASURED FROM BORDERS WITH OTHER EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS; TO SET THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION AT 30,000 TROOPS; AND TO PROVIDE NOTIFICATIONS 18 DAYS IN ADVANCE. U.S. AND OTHER ALLIED REPS WELCOMED THIS IMPORTANT SOVIET STEP, BUT ALSO EXPRESSED THEIR ASSUMPTION THAT THIS WAS NOT THE LAST WORD FROM SOVIETS ON NUMERICAL PARAMETERS. IN MAY 30 CAUCUS, ALLIES AGREED TO WITHHOLD ANY FORMAL COMMENT ON SOVIET MOVE UNTIL JUNE 2, BUT SUGGESTION FOR A TACTICAL RESPONSE BY ALLIES AT THIS TIME CONTAINING MOVE TO 450 KMS., 18,000 TROOPS, AND 5 WEEKS MET NO OPPOSITION. AFTER THE JUNE 2 SESSION, WHICH WILL PROBABLY CONCLUDE CURRENT "SECOND ROUND" ON MANEUVERS MEASURE, SUBCOMMITTEE IS EXPECTED TO TURN BRIEFLY TO OTHER SUBJECTS, IN ORDER TO PERMIT TIME FOR INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON A MORE CONCLUSIVE "THIRD ROUND", IN WHICH SOVIETS AND SOME OTHERS HOPE TO SETTLE TEXTS FOR "VOLUNTARY BASIS" AND OTHER ASPECTS OF MANEUVERS MEASURE. "THIRD ROUND" MAY BEGIN IN WEEK OF JUNE 9. DURING THIS THIRD ROUND, WE WOULD EXPECT MOVEMENT TOWARDS A FINAL COMPROMISE ON NUMERICAL PARAMETERS, AND AN ATTEMPT TO FIND GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE DRAFTING SOLUTIONS FOR CERTAIN OTHER LESS CENTRAL BUT STILL UNRESOLVED ISSUES IN MANEUVERS MEASURE. FOLLOWING IS A DESCRIPTION OF REMAINING ISSUES AND REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE WHERE APPROPRIATE.

3. NUMERICAL PARAMETERS - AS REPORTED IN REF A NEUTRALS ARE NOW PRIVATELY SPREADING THE IDEA THAT ACCEPTABLE FINAL SOLUTION MIGHT BE 300 KMS., 25,000 TROOPS AND 21 DAYS. BASED ON OUR READING OF MOST RECENT MEETINGS OF ALLIED CAUCUS AND ON REF B, WE BELIEVE ALLIES COULD PROBABLY ALL ACCEPT 300 KMS. AS EVENTUAL CONSENSUS FOR DEPTH AT SOVIET ZONE. HOWEVER, UK AND CANADA AT LEAST HAVE RECENT INSTRUCTIONS TO STICK TO A THRESHOLD OF 20,000 MEN, AND IT IS NOT YET CERTAIN THAT ALL ALLIES WILL COME TO SUPPORT THRESHOLD AS HIGH AS 25,000. SINCE REFTTEL C, SOVIETS HAVE INFORMED US THAT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 04089 01 OF 02 311358Z

THEY DO NOT FAVOR A RANGE OF FIGURES FOR THRESHOLD, BECAUSE OF THE RESULTANT AMBIGUITY. THUS WE DOUBT THAT THIS CONCEPT WILL SURVIVE, DESPITE ITS ADVANTAGES IN TERMS OF BRIDGING DIFFERING POSITIONS ON NUMBERS. ON TIMING, ALLIES HAVE GENERALLY AGREED THAT THIS PARAMETER IS LEAST ESSENTIAL, AND COMPROMISE FIGURE OF THREE WEEKS WILL VERY LIKELY SATISFY ALL PARTICIPANTS. ACTION REQUESTED: IN LIGHT OF CURRENT SITUATION, WHICH IS NOW DEVELOPING FAIRLY RAPIDLY, WE REQUEST AUTHORIZATION TO JOIN OTHERS IN GRA-

DUAL MOVEMENT TOWARDS NEUTRAL COMPROMISE FIGURES OF 300 KMS., 25,000 TROOPS, AND 21 DAYS. WHILE WE WOULD NOT TAKE THE LEAD AND WILL LEAVE IT TO THE UK AND OTHERS TO TAKE INITIATIVE FOR ALLIES IN SUBCOMMITTEE, WE BELIEVE WE MAY SOON NEED TACTICAL LEEWAY TO JOIN A CONSENSUS ON NEUTRAL SOLUTION IF THERE IS RECIPROCAL MOVEMENT BY THE SOVIETS.

4. APPLICATION TO COSTAL FRONTIERS: AS NOTED REF C SWEDES AND TURKS, WITH WIDESPRAJAD SUPPORT FROM OTHERS, CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT TO SAVE NOTIFICATION OF SOVIET MANEUVERS IN COASTAL AREAS OD BALTIC AND BLACK SEAS AS WELL AS IN ZONES DIRECTLY BORDERING OTHER PARTICIPANTS. SWEDISH REP POINTED OUT IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON MAY 30 THAT BY COMMON CONSENT MANEUVERS MEASURE WOULD NOW APPLY IN ALL OF SWEDISH TERRITORY, BUT THAT SOVIET APRIL 28 TEXT FOR SENTENCE ON EXEMPTIONS WOULD EXCLUDE SOVIET TERRITORY ON BALTIC COAST OPPOSITE SWEDEN. SWEDISH REP THEN INTRODUCED FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVE TO SOVIET TEXT:

"IN CASE THE TERRITORY OF A PARTICIPATING STATE EXTENDS BEYOND EUROPE, PRIOR NOTIFICATION NEEDS TO BE APPLIED ONLY FOR MANEUVERS WHICH TAKE PLACE WITHINKMS. FROM ITS TERRITORIAL BORDERS FACING ANY OTHER EUROPEAN PARTICIPATING STATE."

INFORMAL EXPLANATION OF THIS TEXT, SWEDES POINTED OUT THAT IT WOULD NOT APPLY TO ARTIC REGIONS OF USSR TERRITORY, SINCE THEY DO NOT FACE OTHER EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS, AND THUS SHOULD BE MORE ACCEPTABLE TO SOVIETS THAN CERTAIN EARLIER TEXTS PROPOSED BY OTHERS.

5. CURRENT SOVIET POSITION ON THIS ASPECT OF AREA QUESTION IS STILL UNCLEAR. DURING AN INFORMAL CONTACT ON MAY 26, SOVIET REPS TOLD US THAT THEY WERE CONSIDERING ONLY A LIMITED STEP TO NOTIFY COMBINED MANEUVERS IN BALTIC AND BLACK SEAS COASTAL BANDS IF THE MANEUVERS INVOLVED NAVAL FORCES. HOWEVER, MENDELEVIHCH IN MAY 30 MEETING EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF SWEDISH POSITION, AND GIVE IM-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 04089 01 OF 02 311358Z

PRESSION THAT SOVIETS ARE CONSIDERING A MORE FORTHCOMING RESPONSE TO SWEDISH PROPOSAL. ON OTHER HAND, SOVIETS MAY BE TAKING GUARDED POSITION FOR THE MOMENT IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT TURKS WILL HAVE DIFFCICULTIES WITH SWEDISH TEXT, WHICH WOULD ON ITS FACE VALUE OBLIGE TURKS TO NOTIFY MANEUVERS ON COAST "FACING" CYPRUS.

6. CURRENT TURKISH POSITION, AS WE NOW UNDERSTAND IT

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04089 02 OF 02 311337Z

44

ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00

PM-03 DODE-00 ACDA-10 CU-02 SAM-01 SP-02 L-01 /052 W

----- 003544

R 311245Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3407

INFO USMISSION NATO

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 4089

LIMDIS

DEPARTMENT PASS SEC DEF

FROM PRIVATE CONTACTS, IS THAT DESCRIPTION OF AREA OF APPLICATION SHOULD CONTAIN AN ADDITIONAL SENTENCE WITH SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR TURKEY, GOING BEYOND THE GENERAL EXEMPTION FOR STATES WITH TERRITORIES EXTENDING BEYOND EUROPE. IN TURKISH VIEW, THIS SPECIAL PROVISION WOULD RESTRICT OBLIGATORY NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS IN ANATOLIA TO A BAND OF TERRITORY NO MORE THAN 100 KMS. FROM THE SOVIET FRONTIER AND FROM TURKISH SEACOASTS, REGARDLESS OF HOW DEEP A BAND OF FRONTIERS TERRITORY THE SOVIETS EVENTUALLY ACCEPT. MOREOVER, THE SEACOAST AREA OPPOSITE CYPRUS WOULD BE SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED FROM ANY OBLIGATION TO NOTIFY MANEUVERS. THE TURKS CLAIM THEY HAVE NO FLEXIBILITY ON THIS POSITION, AND THEY HAVE ALREADY COMPLAINED WITHIN CAUCUS ABOUT LACK OF ALLIED SUPPORT AND ARE NOW THREATENING TO BRING MATTER UP AT NATO IN BRUSSELS. SO FAR OTHER ALLIES HAVE TRIED TO PUT OFF THE ISSUE, BUT TIME WHEN IT WILL HAVE TO BE RESOLVED IS NEARLY AT HAND, AND WE CAN EXPECT DIFFICULTIES WITH GREEKS WHEN ISSUE IS RAISED IN CAUCUS AND WITH CYPRIOTS IN FULL SUBCOMMITTEE. HDTURKS HAVE PROMISED TO PROVIDE PAPER PRIVATELY TO US AND UK EXPLAINING THEIR POSITION IN MORE DETAIL AND WE WILL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 04089 02 OF 02 311337Z

ENCOURAGE UK TO WORK WITH TURKISH REPS ON PRESENTATIONAL ASPECTS. ACTION REQUESTED: WE WILL CONTINUE TO TRY

TO STAY OUT OF THE MIDDLE IN THE DIFFICULT QUESTION OF EXCLUSION AREAS IN TURKEY, AND WILL IN ANY EVENT REQUEST FURTHER GUIDANCE OF TURKISH PAPER, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT TURKISH ISSUE WILL HAVE TO BE SETTLED IN A THIRD SENTENCE OF AREA TEXT. ON SAME ASSUMPTION, WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE AS TO WHETHER THE SWEDISH SENTENCE IN ITS PRESENT FORM IS ACCEPTABLE FOR SECOND SENTENCE.

7. SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS: REF D ADVISES THAT U.S. CAN IN THE END ACCEPT A PROVISION IN MANEUVERS MEASURE FOR DISCRETIONARY NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER SCALE MANEUVERS (I.E. BELOW AGREED THRESHOLD). SMALLER ALLIES CONSIDER THIS PROVISION ESSENTIAL, AND FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES INTEND TO MAKE THEIR ACCEPTENCE OF ANY THRESHOLD ABOVE CURRENT ALLIED POSITION CONDITIONAL ON A SATISFACTORY TEXT FOR SMALLER-SCALE MANUEVERS. MOST RECENT ALLIED TEXT, AS PROPOSED BY NORWEGIANS IN CAUCUS READS AS FOLLOWS:

"THE PARTICIPATING STATES RECOGNIZE THAT THEY CAN CONTRIBUTE FURTHER TO THE STRENGTHENING OF CONFIDENCE AND INCREASING SECURITY AND STABILITY IN EUROPE, AND MAY ALSO NOTIFY OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES OF SMALLER SCALE MILITARY MANEUVERS."

SOVIETS ARE STILL PREPARED ONLY TO SUPPORT TEXT ALONG LINES GIVEN IN PARA 3 OF REF E. THIS TEXT IS ACCEPTABLE TO ALLIES BECAUSE IT WOULD APPLY ONLY TO NOTIFICATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH BILATERAL AGREEMENTS AND TO NEIGHBORING STATES. UNLESS OTHERWISE ADVISED, WE WILL SUPPORT NORWEGIANS TEXT OR A SIMILAR FORMULATION, AS CONSISTENT WITH STANDING GUIDANCE IN REF D.

8. INDEPENDENT NAVAL AND AIR MANEUVERS: WITH VARYING DEGREES OF ENTHUSIAM, ALL ALLIES EXCEPT U.S. ARE NOW PREPARED TO ACED TO DESIRE OF SOME TO HAVE A REFERENCE TO DISCRETIONARY NOTIFICATION OF INDEPENDENT NAVAL AND AIR MANEUVERS AS OPPOSED TO OBLIGATORY NOTIFI-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 04089 02 OF 02 311337Z

CATIONS OF GROUND FORCE AND COMBINED MANEUVERS. UK, WHICH INITIALLY OPPOSED ANY REFERENCE TO DISCRETIONARY NOTIFICATION OF NAVEI MANEUVERS, HAS SINCE LAST YEAR ADOPTED A PASSIVE ATTITUDE ON SUBJECT. OUR VIEW REMAINS THAT ANY REFERENCE TO NOTIFICATION OF INDEPENDENT AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS WOULD SET A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT FOR FREEDOM OF ACTION OF THE U.S. SIXTH FLEET AND MORE GENERALLY FOR FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION ON THE HIGH SEAS. WE SEE NO PRESENT NEED TO MODIFY U.S. POSITION BUT WILL

REPORT FURTHER DISCUSSION.

9. AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE FORCES: SEVERAL INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES, NOTABLY YUGOSLAVIA AND TURKEY, HAS PRESSED FOR A SEPARATE, LOWER THRESHOLD FOR OBLIGATORY NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS INVOLVING AMPHIBIOUS OR AIRBORNE TROOPS, AS OPPOSED TO REGULAR FORCES. THE U.S. AND MOST OTHER ALLIES HAVE TAKEN A RESERVED ATTITUDE TOWARDS SEPARATE THRESHOLDS FOR SPECIAL TYPES OF MANEUVERS. SOME HAVE SUGGESTED THAT A TEXTUAL CLARIFICATION THAT WORD "TROOPS" INCLUDES AMPHIBIOUS AND/OR AIRBORNE TROOPS WOULD ALLAY SOMEHAT THE CONCERNS OF THE STATES MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED. THE U.S. DEL REPORTED AN ALLIED SUGGESTION IN THIS REGARD IN REF F. GUIDANCE IN REF G ADVISES US TO OPPOSE REFERENCE TO "AMPHIBIOUS OR AIRBORNE FORCES" BUT DOES NOT ADDRESS QUESTION OF REFERENCE TO "AMPHIBIOUS OR AIRBORNE TROOPS". ACTION REQUESTED: SINCE THERE IS ALREADY A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING THAT "TROOPS" INCLUDES AIRBORNE AND AMPHIBIOUS (I.E., IN U.S. CASE, MARINES) PERSONNEL, WE SEE NO OBJECTION TO MAKING THIS SPECIFIC IN DEFINITION OF THRESHOLD, AND RECOMMEND WE BE AUTHORIZED TO SUPPORT THIS APPROACH, IF IT SEEMS LIKELY TO LEAD TO CONSENSUS ON THIS ISSUE. DALE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, CBMS, ARMED FORCES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA04089
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750191-0395
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975052/aaaaabct.tel
Line Count: 300
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: 75 GENEVA 3986, 75 SECTO 2041, 75 GENEVA 3837
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <08 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: CBM'S; REMAINING ISSUES IN MANEUVERS MEASURE
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, XG, UR, US, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006